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tains. Governments that had the moral vision to understand this great fact of life in all of its implications had sought and accepted modifications which correspond to the new moral and social relations of the world. Governments that were misled by false ideals, stood against this pressure and paid the penalty. The ruin of institutions, the bankruptcy of morality, the collapse of national life tell of their tragedy as an imposing mountain might tell of the cosmic forces which folded the even strata of the earth's crust into colossal masses of jagged stone redeemed, however, from ugliness by nature's cloak of grandeur, but nothing can hide the ugliness of those national ruins across the sea. The anticipated mission of the great war is such a readjustment of the governments of the world as will compel them to recognize and to respect the deeper moral and spiritual unities of life which life itself has worked out in the mysterious plans of God.

If we view the Pan-American Union in this background we cannot refuse to it a place high among the noble impulses of all times. We find here governments redeemed from the temperamental failings which usually accompany sovereignty. We find brave trust in ideals. We find that governments in their exercise of sovereignty lend a willing ear to the whispering of courtesy, trust and understanding. We find forgotten all distinctions between great and small. We find trusted obedience to kindly impulse. We find governments peering beneath differences of race, language and environment; beneath differences of culture, genius, resources and power in search of the moral and social unity which declares the truth. Lighted by the splendor of the spiritual vision of humanity they walk hand in hand along the way that leads to peace. Thank God that in our day such effort is made. Thank God that achievement is worthy of aspiration.

SOCIAL CONTROL IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Prof. CHARLES HORTON COOLEY, of the University of Michigan

In the recently issued book by this sociologist, entitled "The Social Process,"* he asks what grounds there are for hoping that a society of nations has become possible in our time, and answers that there are not a few developments that justify the hope. First, there has been a revolutionary change in the social mechanism. Second, ripe nationalities have come to pass which provide coherent, self-conscious and more or less self-controlled elements out of which to build the system. The world is nationalized up to the point where supernationalism must begin. Third, democracy is conquering the world, and democracy on the whole is pacific. Fourth, diffusion of organizing capacity among the peoples, brought to pass by education, political democracy and economic experience, has given the world men able to define and manage the desired international organization. All of which leads to one logical outcome, defined by Professor Cooley in the following words:

"The logical outcome is an organic international life, in which each nation and each national patriotism will be united, but not lost, as individuals are united in an intimate group. Our national individuality will subsist, but will derive its guidance and meaning from its relation to the common whole, finding its ambition, emulation and honor in serving that, as a boy does in the play group or a

soldier in his regiment. A spirit of team-work will be substituted, we may hope, for that of unchastened self-assertion. There will be rivalry, not always of the highest kind, and even war may be possible until we have worked out the rules of the game and the means of applying them, but the moral whole will assert itself with increasing power. The new system means bringing the national state under social discipline, making it a responsible member of a larger society. Its significance is not to diminish, but to become a somewhat different kind, like that of a woman when she marries. Hitherto not Germany alone but all the nations have clung to an individualism incompatible with any permanent international order and with any discipline except force.

"I do not look for any disappearance of national selfishness, even of the grosser kinds. Human nature has various moods, most of them unedifying, and the every-day grumbling, quarrelling routine of life will no doubt go on among nations as among individuals. But in spite of this we have idealism and a social order among persons, and we may expect that nations will have them also. We must organize both ideals and selfish interest, so that the former may work with as little friction on account of the latter as possible. Fundamentally both depend for their gratification upon a social order.

"The unity of the international whole will be of a different quality from that of the nation. It will be less intimate and passionate, and will lack the bond of emulation and conflict with other wholes like itself. There is a kind of conflict, however, which even an all-inclusive whole must undergo, namely, that with rebellious elements within itself, and this struggle for unity will enhance self-consciousness, as the Civil War did for the United States. The league of nations will not be merely utilitarian, though its utility will be immense, but will appeal more and more to the imagination by the grandeur of its ideals and the sacrifices necessary to attain it; and, as it achieves concrete existence in institutions, symbols, literature and art, human thought and sentiment will find a home in it. And just as patriotism is akin to the more militant and evangelistic type of religion, so international consciousness corresponds to religious feeling of a quieter and more universal sort, to the idea of a God in whom all nations and sects find a various unity.

"I realize something of the immense importance and difficulty of the economic and political problems involved with the question of an international social order, which I must leave to abler hands. We must do our best to provide equal economic opportunity for all nations, to establish at least the beginnings of an international constitution, with judicial, legislative, and executive branches, and also to provide a process of orderly change by which the world may assimilate new conditions and thus avoid fresh disaster.

"I think, however, that all these questions need to be dealt with in view of the more general social problem. We shall not have an international society unless we have political and economic justice; but neither can these endure except as the fruits of a real international solidarity.

"We are likely to overestimate the part that force can play in keeping international order. It will, no doubt, be necessary, especially at first, to have a reserve of force to impress the less civilized nations, and possibly the more civilized at times of exceptional tension. But our discipline will fail, as it does in schools and families, unless we can get good-will to support it. Force cannot succeed except as the expression of general sentiment, and if we have that it will rarely be necessary. To exalt it by brandishing a club is to exalt an idea whose natural issue is war. A single powerful nation, whose heart remains hostile to the system, will probably be able to defeat it, and certainly will prevent its developing any spirit higher than that of a policeman. The Commonwealth of Man must have force, but must mainly be based on something higher; on tolerance, understanding, common ideals, common interests, and common work."

* Charles Scribners Sons, New York. \$2.00 net.